mother? There is nothing but holy suffering, holy penitence here before our sinful clay, our sinful mud. Again we gather here where others have gathered before in the company of our ancestors, the holy alisiles with the liquor bearers. It is your burden the four of you, the holy work, your holy office for his godchildren again give his godchild at the gate of the door of the church our saint, our keeper, the great father Señor Santiago Calixtro for our patron God, again we gather before this doorway our bodies, our clay, our mud with the holy alisil with our costume. Only give a little liquor, the gift of your mothers, your fathers, mam compadre.

The two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik received one liter of liquor, and the same quota was given to the two alfereces of Alannantik. They drank some and poured off most of the measured shots into the bottles carried by the liquor bearers; then they smoked a cigarette. When they finished this, they raised their banners and entered the plaza on horseback. The bell of the church struck as they entered. About four o'clock, two columns of horsemen formed, one behind the two alfereces of Alannantik and one behind the two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik. One year I observed thirty-eight horsemen from Ahk'olnantik and fifteen from Alannantik. The imbalance in representation for the two sides of the dual division grew sharper each year as the population increased in Ahk'olnantik. Before starting the race, the four alfereces crossed themselves, facing first the church, then the cabildo. As the race began, the mayordomos played the drums and flute in the church yard and the nakawanehetik sat in front of the church wall.

When the racers made four passes across the plaza, they came to drink another trago and smoke two cigarettes in front of the church. At the end of the race, they again drank and smoked the same measured quantities as the pat?o?tan was recited by the leader of the races.

On Sk'ak'halel Sk'in, *the same procedures occurred as on the previous day. The final act of the fiesta took place when, after the races, the alfereces dismounted and the nakawanehetik went to them and drank one liter of liquor before the leader of the races. The two most recently appointed alfereces entered the cabildo, where the banners were laid out on the table among orange and lemon leaves. The president, síndico, two judges, and*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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the regidores were seated in their customary places; the alfereces sat on the visitors' bench. The two former alfereces went before the two newly appointed alfereces and gave an account of what was going to take place, instructing them on "how they should make a fiesta."

When the two former alfereces entered, they went to the president, saying, "How does the Lord see you alive on this holy afternoon?" They then went to the síndico and the regidores and ended with the judges, exchanging a pat?o?tan.

The alfereces went out, mounted their horses, and were handed the banners by the regidores. The two old alfereces received their banners first. All four made the sign of the cross, first facing the cabildo, then the church, and then rode in procession, preceded by the flutist, two drum players, and a guitarist, and followed by the other horsemen. They stopped before the church, dipping their flags, first toward the church and then the cabildo. The president, síndico, and first judge walked across the plaza to the church as the church bells were rung, and all the musical instruments played—the marimba, bell, drums, and flute. The alfereces dismounted and put their banners in the church.

The final day, called Lahinbahel Sk'in, *was spent sobering up, putting things back in order, and returning borrowed items.*

Although Santiago is not one of the major saints, a major celebration is given in his honor because of the high value placed on horsemanship in this community. Before the construction of the Pan-American Highway in 1953 everyone in town had horses which were used to carry the pottery to market. Riding skills were developed in the free-swinging *macho* (manly) style of northern Mexico's cowboys. Even today when horses are not as economically useful the horse culture has survived. The running of the horses in the fiesta is not competitive. Each rider does his best to tear at high speed across the plaza, but there is no specific goal. Since the drunken riders often fall and are injured, some of the excitement is based on the potential danger.

The behavioral data on which the analysis of rituals depends are included because they provide a basis for comparison with neighboring